Rye grass from the adjacent meadows provided thatching for the native houses constructed at this village. Except for the major winter village of Sigu patsóna situated about one mile east, and the occasional winter village at the Gibson ranch in Honey Lake Valley, this was the only other winter village noted for the Secret Valley group. It can be assumed that if one village was occupied the others were not. 361 [824] [342]

The foregoing village locations are probably but a portion of the strictly post-contact habitation sites utilized by the Wadátkuht, although they are probably the major ones. Numerous other camp and village sites were used in the post-contact period, however, these were traditional, named sites.

SUBSISTENCE

The Wadátkuht had a subsistence economy that was, as might be expected, similar to the California-Great Basin pattern. That is, the people had to move about in their territory to utilize all of the plant and animal foods that presented themselves in the various seasons. There seemed to be no strict group or private ownership of oak trees, seed producing areas, or good hunting areas by the Wadátkuht. It seemed to be a case of first come first served with the family getting there first expecting to have no competition unless they invited others to join them. The Wadátkuht often invited the Maidu to share in the acorn harvests in the acorn-rich belt of timber between Buntingville and Milford. Also, when the suckers ran in Long Valley Creek Washo people were allowed to catch and dry fish along with the Wadátkuht families. Another example of inter-tribal cooperation is that of the Secret Valley Wadátkuht who went on joint rabbit drives with their neighboring Pit River friends. In addition, the Kidütkuht of Surprise Valley, Modoc County, sometimes made hunting and gathering trips into Madeline Plains where both the Kamötkuht and the Wadátkuht would hunt and gather. Also the Wadátkuht sometimes went to Pyramid Lake to fish while at other times the Kuyuitkuht of Pyramid Lake came to Honey Lake Valley for acorns. However, foreign groups did not enter another group's territory without an invitation or permission unless they were prepared for hostility. 22 [171] [423] 22 648

Starvation among the Wadátkuht seems to have been only among those families too improvident to secure and store an adequate food supply for the winter. The hungry households that worked diligently collecting food during the other three 22 185 735

Wadátkuht

22 seasons usually were prepared during the winter months to
185 feed themselves adequately. We thus have the real life
735 enactment of the fable of the grasshopper and the ant, except
that in this case the grasshopper did not get taken in and
22 fed. Those households having an adequate winter supply of
476 food, when visited by their hungry fellow camp members, re-
735 marked to the hungry visitors how poor and hungry they, too,
were. They also told them that the prospects of getting any
fresh meat were dim because they had holes in their moccasins
and could not go hunting in the snow. When it became obvious
to the hungry visitors that they were not going to get any
[252] food they returned home as hungry as they came. However,
[262] just as soon as the hungry people left and were out of hear-
[264] ing, the provident family prepared a meal by quietly grinding
acorns into flour which was ultimately mixed with sunflower
seed flour and cooked as a mush. This was usually eaten with
dried deer meat. The preparation of the meal often occurred
very late at night, at a time when hungry neighbors were
asleep and could not hear the preparations for the meal.

735 Harsh treatment to hungry neighbors, such as has just
476 been related, apparently fell upon those individuals or
families too lazy to provide for themselves. Those who lost
their food supply through no fault of their own, or those
people dependent upon their relatives (e.g., old parents and
children) were given more consideration than those whose
hunger stemmed from laziness.

222 The following is a listing, by season, of the resources
obtained from the Wadátkuht environment. This listing is not
exhaustive but gives a reasonably complete account of the
subsistence activities of the Wadátkuht Paiute.

[133] It should again be pointed out that the Wadátkuht were
[262] exceptionally fortunate to have within their territory a
portion of the Sierra Nevada mountains. It was from this
portion of their habitat that they obtained quantities of
acorns, a food item which tended to make their existence
more secure than that of their more desert oriented relatives.
[251] Acorns could be stored for two or even three years, thus
insuring against famine. There was, however, danger of the
acorn crop being frozen by an early frost before they had been
gathered, dried and stored. In addition to the all-important
acorn the Wadátkuht had numerous varieties of plants with
which they were familiar and from which they could gather
quantities of seeds, berries and roots. Unfortunately, it
was not always possible for the author to make a full

The Aboriginal Situation: The Paiute

182 22 [111] At the time of first contact the subsistence activities of the Paiute were based on an exploitation of a none-too-provident environment. The small groups of Paiute who lived together -- with the exception of those occupying the fertile Owens Valley -- appear to have been on the move almost constantly. Harvests of seed had to be made within a few days or weeks at the most, before the ripened seeds were scattered on the ground. Roots, berries, rodents, snakes, fish and insects were sought. Of primary importance were the pinenuts of the mountain areas. These provided a major source of food for survival through the winter. A general survey of foods available suggests that the area could support a larger number of people than 161 it actually did (Steward, 1938, 14-33). Population figures show a high density in the Owens Valley (2.1 sq. mi. per person) to a low at Beatty (44 sq. mi. per person). In the area immediately to the north of Washo country -- called vaguely the Humboldt River country, in which the Carson Sink, Pyramid Lake and Humboldt Lake are located -- density ranged from 2.5 sq. mi. per person at Battle Mountain to 5 sq. mi. per person at Halleck and 132 Wells (Steward, 1938, 48-9). The sporadic rainfall of the area was a lim- 161 iting factor, often failing completely and reducing plant harvests, so that 22 population appears to have been geared to the minimum rather than the max- 182 imum food supply.

224 I have included rodents, fish and insects under the gathering aspects [226] of Paiute life. The pronghorn antelope, the jack rabbit, the mule deer and [222] mountain sheep were the animals most frequently hunted. The first two species appear to have been hunted largely in communal drives. The mule deer was hunted occasionally by groups who drove the animals into ambush or over cliffs (Stewart, 1941, 366, 422). Dogs were used by some bands to aid in deer hunting (Stewart, 1941, 422). Deer were also hunted by individuals or small groups of stalkers, a method that appears to have been the only one used to take mountain sheep where these animals were available.

Rabbits were perhaps the most important hunted species because of their relative abundance. Antelope herds were almost totally depleted by a single drive and could not be hunted in the same area for a number of years. [476] The antelope and rabbit were significant in terms of social organization be- [571] cause the communal hunts were among the few occasions when any large number of Paiute assembled in the same place. This, however, was limited by the period of time the captured game could support a large group of people.

182 In general the ecological adaptation of the Paiute was one of small 22 groups of people shifting within relatively wide areas in response to the appearance of various wild crops and animals. The pinenut appears to have

been the most important single source of food, providing sustenance through the midwinter months when no other plants were available because it grew in large quantity and could be stored for relatively long periods.

A loosely structured bilateral band of family groups appears to have been the most important unit besides the family itself. The membership within a band was apparently very fluid, since families shifted bands or left the company of other families in the pursuit of food. Communal hunts for antelope or rabbits brought several bands together under the special direction of a shaman or rabbit boss. Exceptionally good gathering conditions also concentrated people, but there appears to have been no tendency for larger groupings of gatherers to involve more than a number of separate bands operating in the same area. This is in part because of the nature of gathering -- as opposed to rabbit or antelope hunting -- where cooperation did not necessarily produce more food. Except for these two situations, supraband organization and leadership appear to have been nonexistent. Within the band, leadership was informal and nonauthoritarian. Tribal identity, except for a broad differentiation between Northern Paiute and other Paiute, Shoshoni, Bannock, and Ute and the Washo, as well as the various neighboring California tribes, appears nonexistent at this time. All the Paiute were never assembled for any enterprise, although bands may have assisted each other in war against some common enemy. There appears, however, to have been no real war among the various Paiute bands. Disputes were settled by arguments, fights and skirmishes in which rocks were thrown (Steward, 1938, 238).

The Aboriginal Situation: Washo

The Washo occupied the area between Lake Tahoe and the Pine Nut Mountains east of Reno. The north-south extent of their territory appears to have been from Honey Lake to Antelope Valley. There is archeological evidence as well as the testimony of informants that Washo territory once extended well into California, perhaps to the edge of the San Joaquin Valley (Heizer and Elsasser, 1953; Kroeber, 1925, 391). Linguistically they represent an isolated fragment of the Hokan stock; the Paiute are part of the great Shoshonean stock of wide distribution in the Basin.

Unfortunately the ethnographic information on the Washo is far less complete than is that on the Paiute. However, there is nothing to suggest, in the information on hand, that the Washo differed markedly from the Paiute in subsistence activities, social organization or culture.

they did not resist white intrusion, were viewed as less than people, cowardly, without pride and unworthy of consideration. Because the Washo failed to demonstrate their unity as a people by military action they were not considered a unit, and it was not until the last decade of the 19th century that land allotments were made for them.

The foregoing discussion of differential responses on the part of the Indians and on the part of white men toward Indians explains in large part the differences in acculturation subsequent to 1870 when the war-like Paiute were contained on reservations.

As has been pointed out, the Paiute-Plains Indian relationships may well be due to the subsistence activities the two groups had shared in the past. The relationships as of 1858 served to give the Paiute a model of alternative behavior toward the white man, a model based on Plains Indian values and attitudes.

The Washo, however, lived almost entirely outside the buffalo territory. One suspects from this situation that the environment of their area was one that had never included food sources besides those present at the time of contact. We might then say that the Washo were in ecological balance. They did not consciously or unconsciously turn toward peoples with a markedly different ecological adaptation as models of alternative behavior. This is one way of saying that the Paiute were ecologically oriented toward the north and east, and the Washo were ecologically oriented toward the west. Gathering may have been better in California and game animals more plentiful, but essentially the subsistence patterns were much the same as those of the Washo. Thus Washo peoples felt little or no influence from the Plains groups. They continued to look at the horse and cow as food animals to be eaten when possible, but saw no advantage in adopting the horse. The Washo did not totally reject the horse but accepted it only as a convenience in transportation. Many Washo eventually owned wagons and teams and rode horses but used them only within the framework of aboriginal Washo culture patterns and developed neither a new way of life based on the horse nor new values that they attached to the horse. (For a more detailed discussion of Washo response to animal husbandry and agriculture see Downs, 1961a.)

In the years subsequent to 1879 the Paiute response pattern continued to be colorful, and in many ways, effective. In the early 1870's the first Ghost Dance was initiated at Mason Valley (Gayton, 1930, 57). This early movement elicited no interest among the Plains tribes or the Washo but was adopted by the seriously disorganized California groups. Shortly after this development the Paiute began to farm both on the reservation and off. A second nativistic movement, originated under Jack Wilson at Walker Lake in